

# Utah Minorities: The Story Told by 150 Years of Census Data

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**October 2002**



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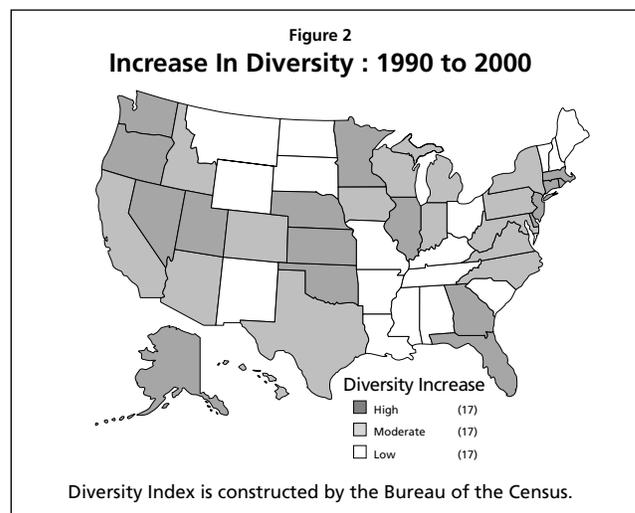
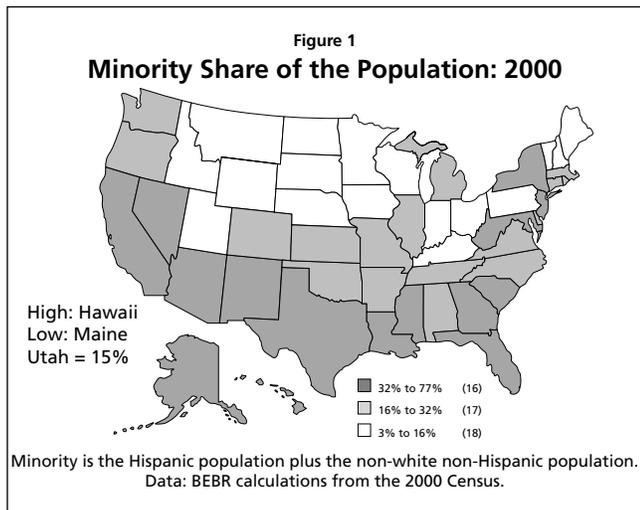


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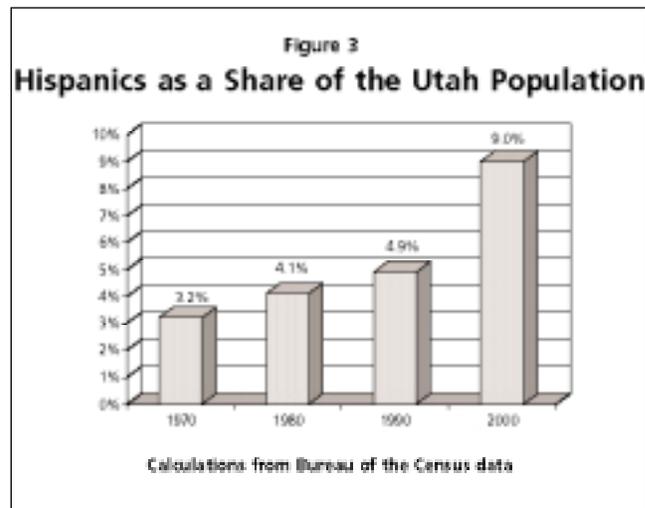
**Pamela S. Perlich**

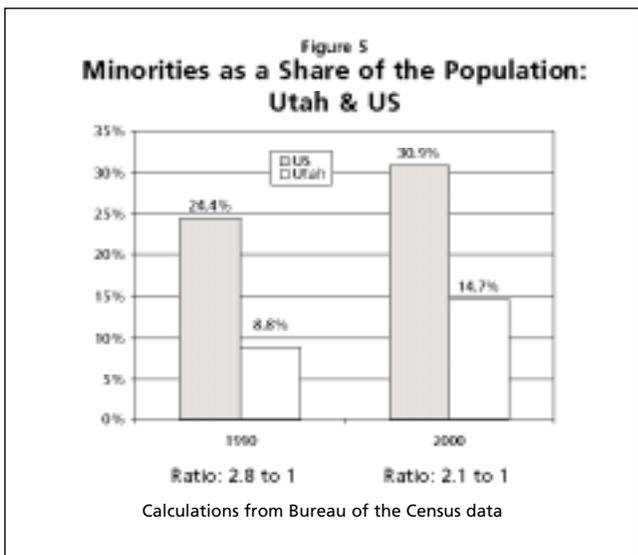
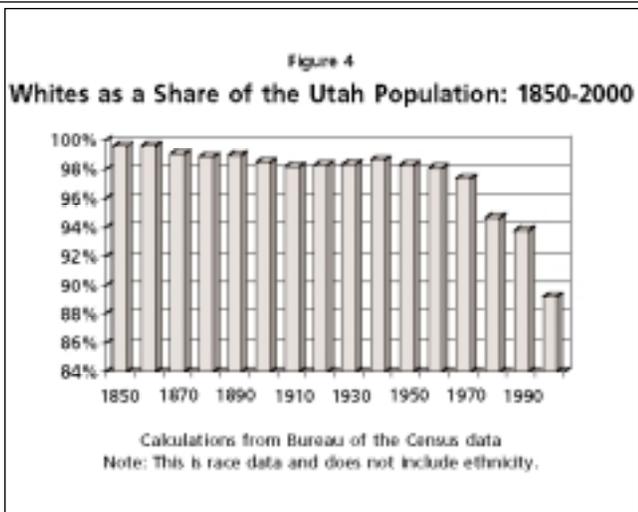
Census data for the past 150 years confirm the widely held view that Utah is less racially and ethnically diverse than the nation. From the mid-19th century settlement of Utah by the Mormon pioneers to the present day, the White race has been the dominant majority. While the great migrations of people of color and ethnic minorities over the past two centuries have transformed many regions of the country, these migrations have affected, but not significantly altered, the racial and ethnic composition of Utah. Some have suggested that the unique culture of the state has been an impediment to minority migration. However, Utah is part of much larger region sharing these characteristics. This region extends from Idaho in the west to Wisconsin in the east and includes portions of the Rocky Mountain Region (Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming), the Great Plains (North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa), and the Great Lakes (Minnesota and Wisconsin). (Figure 1)

compared to 5 percent in 1990.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 3) While this is below the 12.5 percent share of Hispanics enumerated in the national population, it represents an unprecedented increase in the diversity of Utah, unlike any time since the taking of the original territorial Census in 1850. Whites were at least 98 percent of the Utah population from 1850 through 1960.<sup>3</sup> This proportion dropped steadily to reach 94 percent in 1990 as the populations of Hispanics, Asians, Pacific Islanders, African Americans, and others increased more rapidly than did the White non-Hispanic population. Over the last decade the White non-Hispanic population fell from 91 to 85 percent of the Utah population.<sup>4</sup> (Figures 4 and 5)



Immigration to the U.S. has been at historic levels for the past 30 years in what has been called the Second Great Migration Wave. This foreign born population, which is about 11 percent of the national total, has come primarily from Latin America (51 percent) and Asia (27 percent). The result has been a dramatic increase in the nation's ethnic and racial diversity in general, and a substantial increase in the Hispanic population in particular.<sup>1</sup> Utah, which has been relatively unaffected by major migrations in the past, has become the destination for many of these more recent migrants, resulting in a significant increase in its diversity. (Figure 2) According to Census 2000, Hispanics are now 9 percent of the Utah population, as



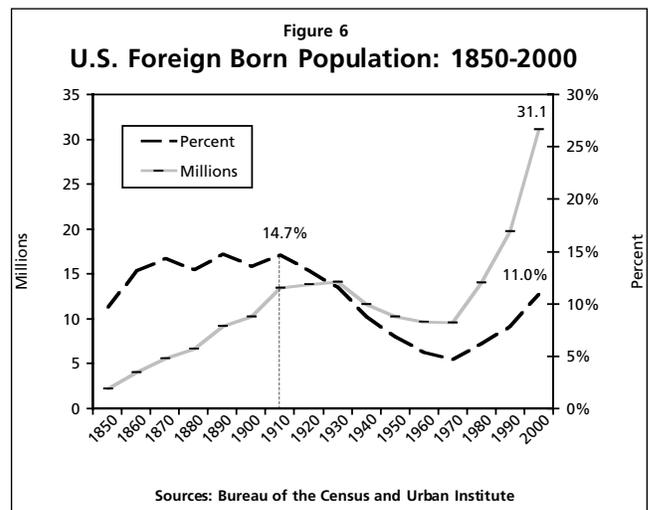


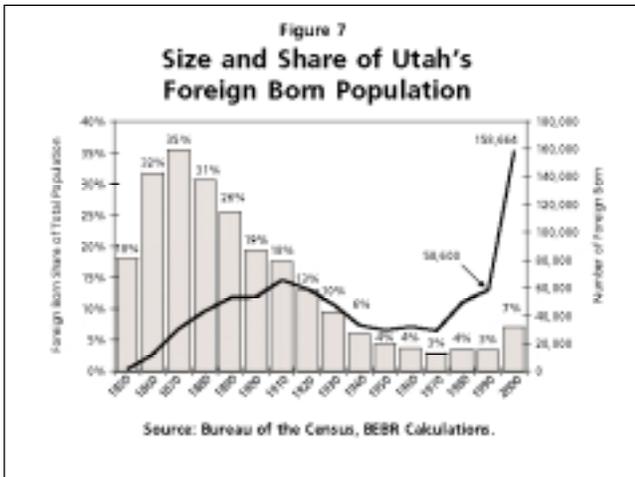
This paper is an examination of the race and ethnicity history of Utah as recorded in each decennial census from 1850 through 2000. The definition and implications of race and ethnicity have long been among the most contested terrain in the social sciences. Because the Census definitions have changed over time, this data series embodies the shifting views and politics of race and ethnicity as well as actual changes in the composition of the population. These are by necessity inseparable. The discussion that follows has been framed and structured by the decennial census data. In fact, the more important contribution of this work is the construction of an historical county level race / ethnicity database for Utah from 1850 to 2000.<sup>5</sup> The race categories discussed in this paper and the sequence of their coverage are primarily derived from the order that the categories were added by the U.S.

Bureau of the Census. First, the general race and ethnicity results of the 2000 census are outlined. Next, changes in the federal government's definitions of race and ethnicity over the years are examined. Finally, the county level historical data for Utah are reviewed and put in context.

### I. Overview of Census 2000 Results

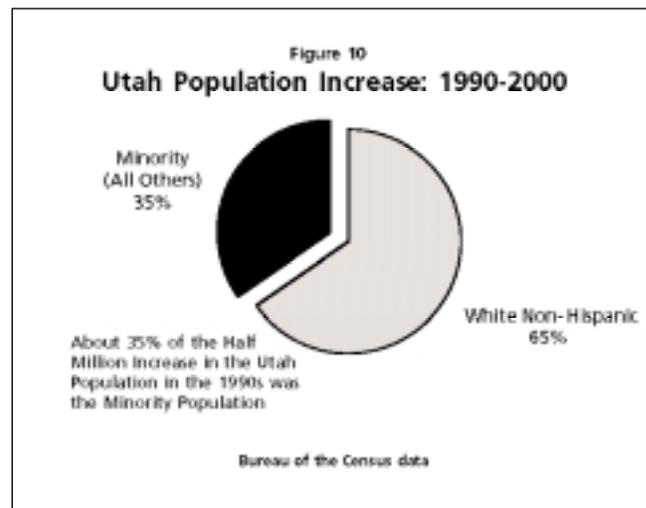
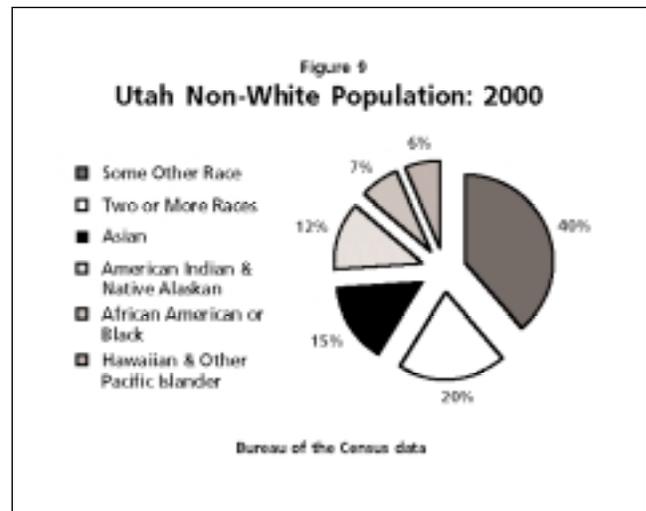
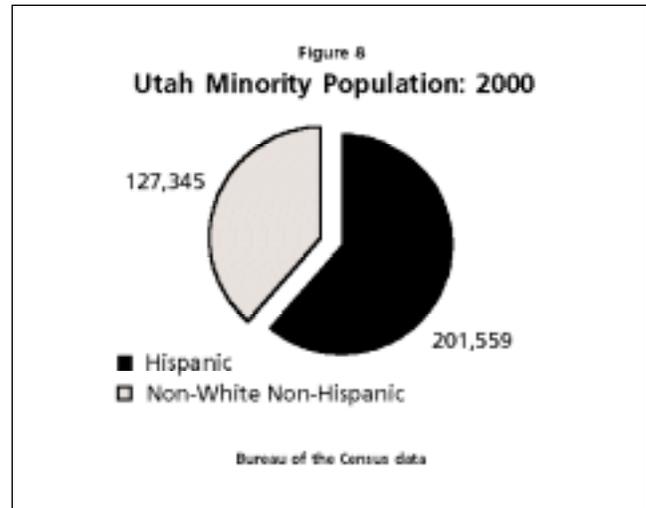
The most recent wave of international immigration to the U.S., which began in the 1970s and accelerated in the 1990s, substantially increased the diversity and contributed to the overall population growth of the nation. (Figure 6) While many of these immigrants entered through the traditional six major gateway states (California, Texas, Florida, New York, New Jersey, and Illinois), a new settlement pattern emerged in the 1990s. Rather than staying in these historic receiving states, substantial numbers continued their migration to interior states beyond established migration patterns. As one of these nontraditional interior receiving states, the diversity of Utah increased more rapidly than that of the nation as a whole in the 1990s as the foreign born share of the population more than doubled from 3 percent to 7 percent. (Figure 7) Of particular significance is the more than doubling (138%) of the Hispanic population in Utah from 1990 to 2000, two-thirds of whom identify themselves as Mexican.

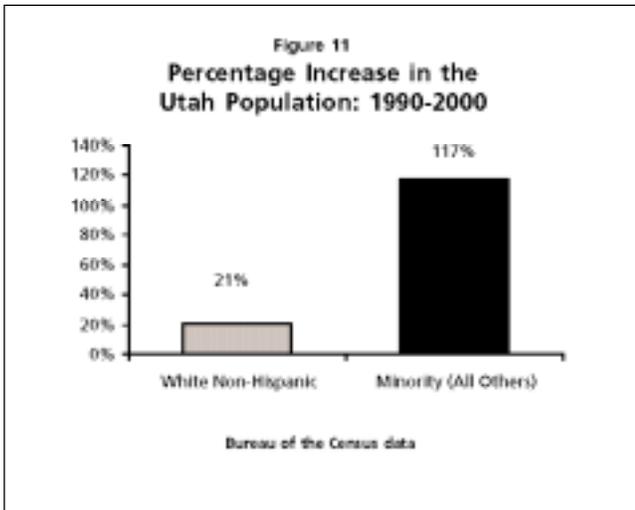




The Federal government currently defines six major race groups: White, Black or African American, American Indian and Native Alaskan, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, and Some Other Race. In a significant break with the past, a person could select multiple races in the 2000 census. Ethnicity, a completely separate category, is defined as Hispanic or Non-Hispanic. Importantly, Hispanics (or non-Hispanics) may be of any race. Utah's minority population, as defined and measured by Census 2000, is composed of Hispanics (61 percent), who may be of any race, and non-White non-Hispanics (39 percent). (Figure 8) Considering the non-White population (who may or may not be Hispanic), the largest race group is Some Other Race (40 percent), which is almost entirely Hispanic. The second largest non-White race group in Utah is the multiracial group, which was selected by one in five persons in the non-White population. The next largest group is Asian (15 percent), followed by American Indian (12 percent), Black or African American (7 percent), and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (6 percent). (Figure 9) Because the 1990 Census allowed the selection of only one race and the 2000 Census allowed multiple selections, it is not possible to accurately measure 10 year rates of change within race categories.<sup>6</sup> What is clear is that over the decade of the 1990s, the White non-Hispanic majority population grew by 21 percent while the minority population (Hispanic and non-White non-Hispanic) grew by 117 percent.

The Utah population grew by over half a million during the 1990s. About 35 percent of this population increase has occurred in the minority population, and much of this is in-migration of Hispanics. (Figures 10 - 11 and Table 1)





## II. Census Definitions of Race and Ethnicity

Race and color have been part of the Decennial Census

from its beginnings in 1790. (Table 2) The original categories were derived from the constitutional mandate to conduct a census of the population.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, According to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding those Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct.<sup>7</sup>

This directive was translated for the 1790 Census into the categories of free White persons, all other free persons, and slaves. The 1800 and 1810 census schedules included the same classification, with the qualification of “except

Table 1: Race and Ethnicity Data for the State of Utah: 1990 and 2000 Census

1990 Census			2000 Census		
<b>Total Population by Ethnicity</b>	Count	Share	<b>Total Population by Ethnicity</b>	Count	Share
Total Hispanic	84,597	4.9%	Total Hispanic or Latino	201,559	9.0%
Total Not Hispanic	1,638,253	95.1%	Total Not Hispanic or Latino	2,031,610	91.0%
Total Population	1,722,850	100.0%	Total Population	2,233,169	100.0%
<b>Total Population by Race</b>	Count	Share	<b>Total Population by Race</b>	Count	Share
White	1,615,845	93.8%	White alone	1,992,975	89.2%
Black	11,576	0.7%	Black or African American alone	17,657	0.8%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	24,283	1.4%	American Indian and Alaska Native alone	29,684	1.3%
Asian	25,696	1.5%	Asian alone	37,108	1.7%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	7,675	0.4%	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	15,145	0.7%
Other race	37,775	2.2%	Some other race alone	93,405	4.2%
Total Population	1,722,850	100.0%	Two or more races	47,195	2.1%
<b>Hispanic Origin by Race</b>			<b>Hispanic or Latino by Race</b>		
White	44,591	52.7%	White alone	88,710	44.0%
Black	708	0.8%	Black or African American alone	1,520	0.8%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	1,535	1.8%	American Indian and Alaska Native alone	3,021	1.5%
Asian or Pacific Islander	881	1.0%	Asian alone	625	0.3%
Other race	36,882	43.6%	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	339	0.2%
Total Hispanic Origin	84,597	100.0%	Some other race alone	91,457	45.4%
<b>Not of Hispanic Origin by Race</b>	Count	Share	<b>Not Hispanic or Latino by Race</b>	Count	Share
White	1,571,254	95.9%	White alone	1,904,265	93.7%
Black	10,868	0.7%	Black or African American alone	16,137	0.8%
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	22,748	1.4%	American Indian and Alaska Native alone	26,663	1.3%
Asian or Pacific Islander	32,490	2.0%	Asian alone	36,483	1.8%
Other race	893	0.1%	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	14,806	0.7%
Total Not Hispanic	1,638,253	100.0%	Some other race alone	1,948	0.1%
<b>Hispanic or Latino as a Share of Other Race</b>		97.6%	<b>Hispanic as a Share of Other Race</b>		97.9%
Source Data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, BEBR Calculations			Total Not Hispanic or Latino		
			2,031,610		
			100.0%		

Table 2: Race/Ethnicity Categories in the Census 1790-2000

Census	1790	1800 and 1810					1820				
Race	Free White Males, Free White Females Slaves All Other Free Persons	Free White Males, Free White Females Slaves All Other Free Persons, Except Indians Not Taxed					Free White Males, Free White Females Slaves All Other Free Persons, Except Indians Not Taxed				
Hispanic ethnicity											
	1830 and 1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Free White Persons											
Free Colored Persons		Free White Persons	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White
Slaves		Free Black persons	Free Black	Black	Black	Black	Black (of Negro decent)	Black	Black	Negro	Negro
		Free Mulattos	Free Mulatto	Mulatto	Mulatto	Mulatto	Mulatto	Mulatto			
		Black Slaves	Black Slaves	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese
		Mulatto Slaves	Mulatto Slaves		Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian
			(Indian)**			Quadroon Octoroon Japanese	Japanese		Japanese	Japanese Filipino Hindu Korean Mexican	Japanese Filipino Hindu Korean
								Other	Other	Other	Other
**Indian was not on the Schedule., but was in the instructions. Nobels, p. 44.											
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990		2000				
White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White			
Negro	Negro	Negro	Negro or Black	Black or Negro	Black or Negro	Black or Negro	Black, African American, or Negro	Black, African American, or Negro			
Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese			
American Indian	American Indian	American Indian	Indian (Amer.)	Indian	Indian (Amer.)	Indian (Amer.)	American Indian or Alaska Native	American Indian or Alaska Native			
Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese			
Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino			
			Korean	Asian Indian	Asian Indian	Asian Indian	Asian Indian	Asian Indian			
			Aleut	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean			
			Eskimo	Aleut	Aleut	Aleut	Aleut	Aleut			
			Hawaiian	Eskimo	Eskimo	Eskimo	Eskimo	Eskimo			
			Part Hawaiian	Hawaiian	Hawaiian	Hawaiian	Hawaiian	Native Hawaiian			
				Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Vietnamese			
				Guamanian	Guamanian	Guamanian	Guamanian or Chamorro	Guamanian or Chamorro			
				Samoan	Samoan	Samoan	Samoan	Samoan			
					Other API	Other API	Other Asian	Other Asian			
							Other Pacific Islander	Other Pacific Islander			
Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	Some other race	Some other race			
			Mexican	Mexican, Mexican Amer., Chicano	Mexican, Mexican Amer., Chicano	Mexican, Mexican Amer., Chicano	Mexican, Mexican Amer., Chicano	Mexican, Mexican Amer., Chicano			
			Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican			
			Central/So. American								
			Cuban	Cuban	Cuban	Cuban	Cuban	Cuban			
			Other Spanish	Other Spanish/Hispanic	Other Spanish/Hispanic	Other Spanish/Hispanic	Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino			
			(None of these)	Not Spanish/Hispanic	Not Spanish/Hispanic	Not Spanish/Hispanic	Not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	Not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino			

Adapted from Population Reference Bureau. "Race and Ethnicity in the Census: 1860 to 2000," www.prb.org, downloaded March, 2002.

Other References: 200 Years of U.S. Census Taking: Population And Housing Questions 1790-1990. U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census; Table 2, Nobels, page 44. Table 4.1, page 70; and Rodriguez Table 4.4, page 83

Indians not taxed” appended onto the “all other free persons” label.<sup>8</sup> These distinctions were made for apportionment purposes: free persons and “taxed Indians” counted fully while slaves each counted as three-fifths.

Color has been an explicit category in every census from 1830 through 2000. “White” has been a constant as has been some label for African American persons. “Free colored persons” was added to the 1820 population schedule. In 1830 and 1840 this was simplified to three possible classifications: free White persons, free colored persons, and slaves.

There were separate schedules for free inhabitants and slaves in the 1850 and 1860 censuses. The color categories for each were White, Black, and Mulatto. Excepting the 1900 Census, from 1850 through 1920 the Census race categories included “Black” and “mulatto.” In 1890, the blackness of a person was to be identified in much more detail: Black, Mulatto, Quadroon, or Octoroon. This attention to “mixed-blood” was apparently motivated by the politics of slavery in the pre-Civil War era and the politics of segregation and Jim Crow in the post-Civil War period. The “one drop” rule was used to determine race in the 1930 through 1960 censuses. If one was thought to have any hint of African American ancestry, one was classified as Black. One of the following categories has been included in every Decennial Census: “slave,” Black, Negro, African American, or the “mixed-blood” labels.

Though the label has changed over time, American Indian has been part of the decennial census as a race or color from 1860 to the present. As a result of the Indian Appropriation Act of 1847, all Native Americans (not just those taxed) were to be counted in a special and separate 1850 Census.<sup>9</sup> The instructions for enumerators of the 1860 census specify that only “civilized” Indians should be counted.<sup>10</sup> “Taxed Indians” were probably counted in the White population for the early censuses, although there is some dispute about this. After the Supreme Court ruled in 1935 that all Indians were subject to federal taxation and should be counted for apportionment purposes, the “taxed” qualification was dropped from the census. The net result of this approach was that there was not a rigorous effort to enumerate American Indians until well into the 20th century. American Indians were also subjected to the calculus of “blood quantum.” In the 1860 Census there was a “half-breed” category. During the “one drop” era, American Indians with any amount of “Negro blood” were classified as Black or Negro unless the individual was accepted as “Indian” in the community.<sup>11</sup> Alaskan natives (“Aleut” and “Eskimo”) were included in the 1960 and 1980 through 2000 censuses. Census counts of Native

Americans across time are difficult to interpret since federal policy and tribal economic conditions have gone through quite dramatic changes.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1930 through 1960 censuses, instructions to the enumerators indicated that any person of “mixed White and Indian blood” should be reported as Indian unless the person was generally accepted as White in the community. Any other “mixture of White and non-White should be reported according to the non-White parent.” In the case of “other mixtures of colored races,” the race of the father is reported. Exceptions to this rule were Indian persons with “Black blood” who appeared Indian, as noted above.<sup>13</sup>

Chinese have been counted separately in every Census since 1870 while Japanese were permanently added as a distinct group of persons in 1880, and Filipinos in 1920. Koreans and Asian Indians (“Hindu”) were included beginning in the 1920 census and then removed in the 1950 census. Koreans became a permanent category in 1970 while Asian Indians reappeared in 1980. “Aleuts” and “Eskimos” were included on the list in 1960, excluded in 1970, and once again included in 1980. Hawaiians have been a race category since 1960 while Vietnamese, Guamanian, and Samoan were added in 1980. The category “Other Asian and Pacific Islander” appeared in 1990 only to be replaced by two categories in 2000: “Other Asian” and “Other Pacific Islander.” Finally, “Other” became a racial category in 1910, although it was renamed “Other Race” in 1990 and “Some Other Race” in 2000.

After much debate, the 2000 census allowed the selection of multiple race categories. Some argued that this was a victory for self-identification while others argued that this diluted the political visibility and representation of others. This innovation, which created 63 racial categories, complicated civil rights monitoring and enforcement. Another implication of the multi-race option is that Census 2000 race data are not directly comparable with that of the 1990 census. However, it is difficult (if not impossible) to compare any of the census race data across time.

In the larger community, there has never been agreement about the definitions of and distinctions between race and ethnicity. Some see race as a component or type of ethnicity while others define the terms as mutually exclusive. Some argue for the biological basis of race while others conceptualize it as a purely social construct. None of this is particularly relevant to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, which has responded to statutory requirements, most recently those of the Office of Management and Budget. “Each step toward keeping track of the popula-

tion's ethnic composition was taken ad hoc, in accordance with new legal requirements or in response to pressures from Congress and sectors of the public."<sup>14</sup>

When in the 1930 Census "Mexican" was included as a race category, only 61,960 of the estimated 200,000 Spanish-speaking persons in the state of New Mexico were counted as "Mexican." Native-born persons of Mexican descent apparently did not accept the label "Mexican" or "Mexican American." In the 1970 Census the short form had an Hispanic origin question while two versions of the long form had between them four questions: birthplace, surname, language, and Spanish origin. Estimates of Hispanics generated from these data were criticized as they ranged from 5.2 to 9.6 million.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1980 Census, a uniform ethnicity question was introduced for both the long and short forms, again completely separate from the race question. Two ethnic groups were defined: "Spanish or Hispanic Origin or Descent" or "Not of Spanish or Hispanic Origin or Descent." The category is an agglomeration of a very diverse group Spanish-speaking persons or persons from Spanish-speaking countries that have been aggregated regardless of economic, cultural, or racial differences. This question subdivided Hispanics into Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Hispanic. In the 1980 and 1990 questionnaires, respondents were asked whether their race was 1) White; 2) Black; 3) American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut; 4) Asian or Pacific Islander (with nine detailed categories); or 5) (some) other race. Fully 40 percent of persons who identified themselves as Hispanic in the 1980 Census selected the Other Race category. In fact, 97 percent of all persons selecting Other Race were Hispanics. These proportions were repeated in the 1990 Census. A major proposal for the 2000 Census was to include Spanish/Hispanic/Latino as a selection in the race question. This proposal failed so the separation of race and Hispanic Origin continued for the 2000 Census. Once again Hispanics accounted for 97 percent of the Other Race category and many wrote in Mexican.<sup>16</sup>

Because the selection of multiple race categories was allowed in the 2000 Census, the number of race ethnicity combinations exploded. Given the six major race categories, there are 63 possible combinations, including six for the race groups alone and 57 for the race groups in combination. Combining this with the ethnicity data yields 128 possible race and ethnicity categories. Interpretation and reporting of this data has been problematic.<sup>17</sup>

Social science research is affected by categories of analysis as well as methods of data collection. Because the

typology of the Census race categories is not logical or systematic it is not surprising that many people do not find a place for themselves in the scheme. For example, prior to Census 2000 there was an effort to create a category for Middle Easterners / Arab Americans who are currently classified as White non-Hispanics.<sup>18</sup> The Census categories are clearly the creation of the bureaucratic, legal, and political milieu from which they have emerged. Analyzing race and ethnicity data across time is not like measuring changes in the interest rate or the production of commodities. There is no real time series here with the measurement of the same variables across time.

A further complication in the interpretation of race and ethnicity data is the method of collection. Census takers are, after all, agents of the federal government. Undocumented persons have probably never been anxious to be counted. United States marshals had the responsibility of appointing and supervising assistants to enumerate the population for the first six censuses (1790-1870). Beginning in 1880, supervisors who worked at the direction of the Census Office and the Department of the Interior were appointed. The training, management, and professionalism of the field workers improved gradually and substantially over time. Census enumerators have affected both the coverage (and therefore undercount) and outcome of the censuses. For example, the instructions to the 1890 enumerators were to use their own judgment in assigning "color."

Write white, black, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, Chinese, Japanese, or Indian according to the color or race of the person enumerated. Be particularly careful to distinguish between blacks, mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. The word "black" should be used to describe those persons who have three-fourths or more black blood; "mulatto," to describe those persons who have from three-eighths to five-eighths black blood; "quadroon," those persons who have one-fourth black blood; and "octoroon," those persons who have one-eighth or any trace of black blood.<sup>19</sup>

Complete self-identification of race and ethnicity (within the constraints of the census definitions) became possible with the introduction of the mailout-mailback collection method in the 1970 Census. The more diverse the nation becomes, the more inadequate are conventional categories for capturing a person's perception of his/her own race / ethnicity. Another problem has been the number of non-responses, especially on the Hispanic origin question. When respondents leave a question blank, the Bureau of the Census imputes answers based on responses of others in the household or neighborhood. Of all questions on the

1990 Census, the Hispanic Origin question had the highest nonresponse rate.<sup>20</sup> The changing legal, political, cultural environment affects how people identify themselves and others. This adds to the general difficulty (or perhaps impossibility) of interpreting these data across time. For example, the number of persons identifying themselves as American Indian tripled from 1960 to 1990. This far exceeds reasonable rates of natural increase.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the undercount disproportionately affects people of color, and there is considerable debate as to the capability and appropriateness of statistical adjustment techniques to correct for this. So, with all of the caveats, we proceed with an exam-

ination of county level race and ethnicity data for the State of Utah for the years 1850 through 2000.

### III. Race and Ethnicity data for Utah Counties: 1850-2000

The demographic history of Utah as recorded in the decennial census begins with the Territorial Census of 1850, shortly after the establishment of the permanent frontier settlement of Mormons in Utah. (Table 3) Over the decades, these demographic statistics chronicle the growth of these settlements, the coming of other populations with the expansion of the railroad and mining, and, more gener-

ally, the economic development of the region. Utah, like other interior northern states, is less ethnically and racially diverse than the nation as a whole. The international immigration to the U.S. in the 1990s, which has been of historic proportions, has brought a more diverse population to Utah, especially Hispanics and Latinos. The foreign born population in Utah is estimated to be about 7 percent in 2000 as compared with about 11 percent nationally. Just over half of Utah's foreign born population is from Latin America and about half entered the U.S. in the 1990s.<sup>22</sup> (Figures 12 - 14) In consequence the diversity of the state has increased, and this rate of increase has exceeded that of the nation.<sup>23</sup> At present the racial and ethnic minorities in Utah disproportionately reside in the large urban counties of the Wasatch Front (Davis, Salt Lake, Utah, and Weber counties). Although there are rural concentrations of the American Indian population, however there has been a trend toward urban migration in recent decades.

Because the discussion that follows is primarily restricted to decennial census data, it is subject to the same limitations just explained. While some of the major events associated with the migrations of groups of people are identified to shed light on their spatial and tem-

**Table 3: State of Utah  
Decennial Census Race Counts**

	White	Black	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other	Total
1850	11,330	50					0	11,380
1860	40,125	59					0	40,273
1870	86,044	118	89		445		0	86,786
1880	142,423	232	807		501		0	143,963
1890	205,899	588	608	4	806		0	207,905
1900	272,465	672	2,623	417	572		0	276,749
1910	366,583	1,144	3,123	2,110	371		20	373,351
1920	441,901	1,446	2,711	2,936	342		60	449,396
1930	499,967	1,108	2,869	3,269	342	158	134	507,847
1940	542,920	1,235	3,611	2,210	228	69	37	550,310
1950	676,909	2,729	4,201	4,452	335		236	688,862
1960	873,828	4,148	6,961	4,371	629	207	483	890,627
1970	1,031,926	6,617	11,273	4,713	1,281	392	3,071	1,059,273
1980	1,383,997	9,691	19,994	5,508	2,913	1,138	37,796	1,461,037
1990	1,615,845	11,576	24,093	6,500	5,322	1,905	57,609	1,722,850
2000	1,992,975	17,657	29,684	6,186	8,045	3,106	175,516	2,233,169
2000*	2,034,448	24,382	40,445	9,991	10,691	5,396	n/a	

	White	Black	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other	Total
1850	99.6%	0.4%					0.0%	100.0%
1860	99.6%	0.1%	0.2%				0.0%	100.0%
1870	99.1%	0.1%	0.2%		0.5%		0.0%	100.0%
1880	98.9%	0.2%	0.6%		0.3%		0.0%	100.0%
1890	99.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%		0.0%	100.0%
1900	98.5%	0.2%	0.9%	0.2%	0.2%		0.0%	100.0%
1910	98.2%	0.3%	0.8%	0.6%	0.1%		0.0%	100.0%
1920	98.3%	0.3%	0.6%	0.7%	0.1%		0.0%	100.0%
1930	98.4%	0.2%	0.6%	0.6%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
1940	98.7%	0.2%	0.7%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
1950	98.3%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.0%		0.0%	100.0%
1960	98.1%	0.5%	0.8%	0.5%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	100.0%
1970	97.4%	0.6%	1.1%	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	100.0%
1980	94.7%	0.7%	1.4%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	2.6%	100.0%
1990	93.8%	0.7%	1.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.1%	3.3%	100.0%
2000	89.2%	0.8%	1.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%	7.9%	100.0%

	White	Black	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other	Total
1860	254.1%	18.0%						253.9%
1870	114.4%	100.0%	101.1%					115.5%
1880	65.5%	96.6%	350.8%		12.6%			65.9%
1890	44.6%	153.4%	-24.7%		60.9%			44.4%
1900	32.3%	14.3%	331.4%	10325.0%	-29.0%			33.1%
1910	34.5%	70.2%	19.1%	406.0%	-35.1%			34.9%
1920	20.5%	26.4%	-13.2%	39.1%	-7.8%		200.0%	20.4%
1930	13.1%	-23.4%	5.8%	11.3%	0.0%		123.3%	13.0%
1940	8.6%	11.5%	25.9%	-32.4%	-33.3%	-56.3%	-72.4%	8.4%
1950	24.7%	121.0%	16.3%	101.4%	46.9%	-100.0%	537.8%	25.2%
1960	29.1%	52.0%	65.7%	-1.8%	87.8%		104.7%	29.3%
1970	18.1%	59.5%	61.9%	7.8%	103.7%	89.4%	535.8%	18.9%
1980	34.1%	46.5%	77.4%	16.9%	127.4%	190.3%	1130.7%	37.9%
1990	16.8%	19.5%	20.5%	18.0%	82.7%	67.4%	52.4%	17.9%
2000	23.3%	52.5%	23.2%	-4.8%	51.2%	63.0%	204.7%	29.6%

\* Note: The first listing for 2000 is race alone and the second is for race in combination.

poral distribution, this is by no means intended to be a history of these populations.<sup>24</sup> This paper is essentially a descriptive data analysis.<sup>25</sup> The race and ethnicity categories are discussed in the sequence that they were added to the Census questionnaire itself.

### A. American Indians

Native people lived in Utah at least 12,000 years before the arrival of the Europeans.<sup>26</sup> American Indians were virtually invisible to census enumerators for the first three censuses unless they were “civilized” and taxed. In the 1860 census 50 of Utah’s 89 “civilized” and “taxed Indians” were counted in Salt Lake County. It is estimated that there were 20,000 American Indians in Utah at the time of the Mormon settlement.<sup>27</sup> According to census counts, this population level was not again reached until 1980. (Table 4)

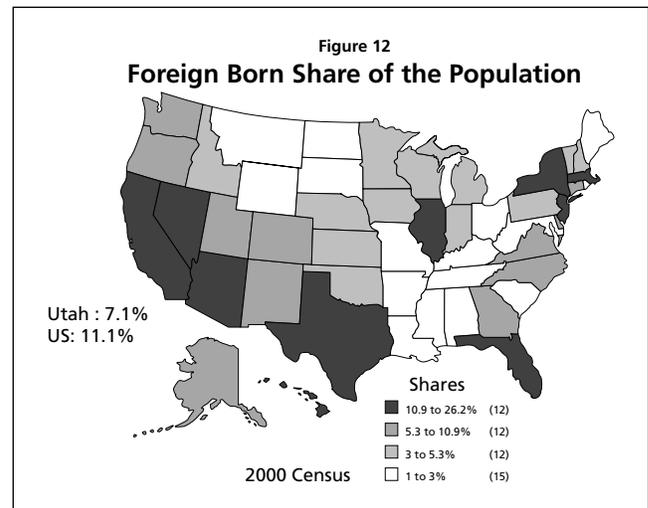
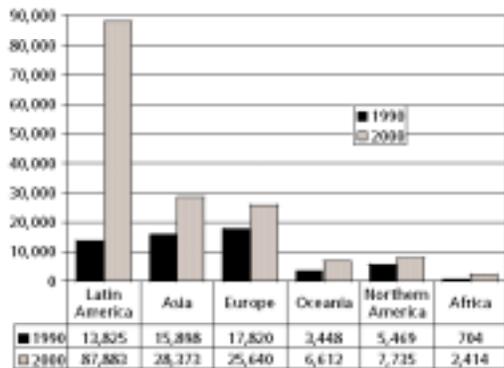


Table 4: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties  
American Indian Population by County

Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	
																Alone	Combined
STATE		89	179	807	608	2,623	3,123	2,711	2,869	3,611	4,201	6,961	11,273	19,994	24,093	29,684	40,445
BEAVER		-	2	40	-		24	13	19			10	25	26	39	54	113
BOX ELDER		-	4	237	173		150	130	103			576	614	1,258	388	375	578
CACHE		4	5	9	1		1	6				30	73	186	543	529	806
CARBON								1	9			21	27	160	150	216	306
DAGGETT												3	12	2	9	7	11
DAVIS		8	5	7	2				1			148	388	781	1,088	1,379	2,334
DUCHESNE								70	203			332	321	264	661	769	1,032
EMERY				-	12							44	13	131	44	71	136
GARFIELD					5			4				20	25	69	72	87	119
GRAND					-							8	19	161	203	327	398
IRON		-	15	55	8		26	46	41			162	195	461	633	737	958
JUAB		-	2	4	-		72	128	175			30	46	15	84	84	123
KANE			7	6	97		33		3			19	23	33	76	94	146
MILLARD		-	87	4	1		57	65	37			72	66	96	184	163	239
MORGAN			-	-	-							5	5	27	8	13	46
PIUTE			2	120	40		6	37	31			14	15	17	9	17	27
RICH			2	1	1							-	3	10	1	1	5
SALT LAKE		50	9	19	3		16	7	19			620	1,617	4,731	6,019	7,892	12,006
SAN JUAN				-	53		1,396	932	1,320			2,668	4,740	5,622	6,858	8,026	8,163
SANPETE		9	15	71	52		14	8	20			16	35	201	131	199	336
SEVIER			-	2	-				2			78	86	159	317	376	494
SUMMIT		-	2	2	-		2		1			1	3	119	66	91	171
TOOELE		8	-	152	43		47	52	2			351	283	419	383	694	1,019
UINTAH				18	3		1,029	1,131	783			1,190	1,337	1,938	2,331	2,365	2,599
UTAH		1	12	25	15		1	10	3			181	613	1,995	1,883	2,206	3,747
WASATCH			-	6	4		141					4	10	36	66	65	178
WASHINGTON		-	8	26	94		97	71	82			125	167	198	704	1,328	1,867
WAYNE							4					-	1	18	40	9	19
WEBER		1	1	3	1		7		15			233	511	861	1,103	1,510	2,469
OTHER		8	1														

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

Figure 13  
Utah's Foreign Born Population: 1990 & 2000



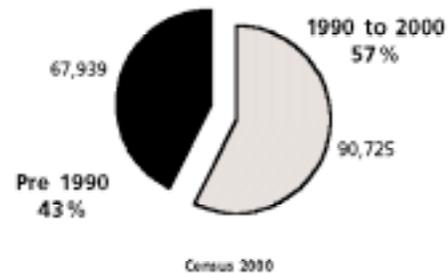
Bureau of the Census data

Seven distinct eras in recent American Indian history have been identified: the Treaty Period (1789-1871), the Reservation Period (1871-1887), the Allotment Period (1887-1934), the Reorganization Period (1934-1953), the Termination Period (1953-1970), the Self Determination Period (1970-1994), and the Self-Government Policy (1994-present).<sup>28</sup> During the Allotment Period (1887-1934) citizenship was offered to those American Indians who would become private property owners rather than live on tribal lands. By 1900, the number of American Indians counted in the state was 2,623 and in 1910 it was 3,123. From 1950 to 1980 the population of American Indians in Utah increased from 4,201 to nearly 20,000. This is nearly a five-fold increase over three decades and an average increase of nearly 70 percent per decade. As discussed previously, these increases, which exceed any reasonable rate of natural increase, were also observed in the national census results. In the 2000 census, there were 29,684 persons who identified themselves as American Indian and Alaskan Native alone, which is 1.3 percent of the population of the state, as compared with 0.9 percent of the nation.<sup>29</sup> A total of 40,445 persons identified themselves as American Indian and Alaskan Native alone or in combination with other races.

This American Indian population was for many decades highly concentrated in San Juan (Navajo) and Uintah (Uintah and Ouray) counties, which together accounted for 78 percent of the American Indian population of the state in 1910. By 1960 American Indians began an urban migration reversing the trend of rural population concentration. By the 2000 census, the share of the state's American Indian population in Salt Lake and San Juan counties were nearly equal. Meanwhile, nearly

56 percent of the population of San Juan County is American Indian while it is 9.4 percent in Uintah County.<sup>30</sup> Considering the persons who identified themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native alone or in combination with other races, nearly a third of these persons reside in Salt Lake County as compared to one-fifth in San Juan County.

Figure 14  
Year of Entry of the Utah Foreign Born Population 2000



Census 2000

### B. African Americans

Men of African descent worked as trappers and explorers in what became Utah before the arrival of the Mormon pioneers. The Brigham Young party arrived in 1847 with African American slaves. In the 1850 territorial census, there were 26 slaves and 24 "free colored" persons, who lived mostly in Davis, Salt Lake, and Utah counties. Of these, 22 were in route to California and not Utah residents. (Table 5) As the Mormon migration proceeded, the African American population remained quite small and included slaves (brought by southern Mormons), pioneers (including some converts), and laborers. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 facilitated a much larger migration of African Americans to Utah who either worked in the railroad industry or were able to more easily travel to Utah.<sup>31</sup>

The number of Black persons in Utah in the 1890 census was 588 and in 1900 it was 672. Most of this population lived in Salt Lake and Uintah counties and many were in the Army stationed at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City and on reservation duty at Fort Duchesne. Because these soldiers were stationed at Fort Douglas between 1896 and 1899, they were not counted in the 1900 Census. In the period 1896 to 1899, about half of the Black population in the state were soldiers at Fort Duchesne and Fort Douglas.<sup>32</sup> The presence of African Americans in the coal mines in Carbon and Emery counties, the railroads in Weber County, and as contributors to the growing metropolitan economy of Salt Lake is evident

in the 1920 census. During the Great Depression there was an out-migration of Blacks from the state.<sup>33</sup> The federal defense sector build-up in Utah beginning in the 1940s employed many African Americans. These installations included Hill Air Force Base and the Naval Supply Depot in Davis County, the Utah General Depot in Weber County, and the Tooele Ordnance Depot and Dugway Proving Grounds in Tooele County. Although the defense sector has recently been downsized, many of the African Americans in the state remain tied to the Federal military presence.<sup>34</sup>

The number of persons identifying themselves as “Black, African American, or Negro” alone in the 2000 census was 17,657, an increase of 52.5 percent over the 11,576 count of 1990. This is more than double the growth rate of those persons identifying themselves as White alone over the same period. Although still less than one percent of the state population (as compared to 12.3 percent nationally), the proportion continues to increase. When including all persons indicating African American alone or in combination with any other, the count for 2000 in Utah was 24,382. Over half (54 percent) of this population resides in Salt Lake County while Salt Lake,

Davis, and Weber counties combined account for over two-thirds (70 percent) of the total. There has been a significant increase in the Black population in Utah County, going from 374 in 1990 to 1,096 in 2000 so that now 6 percent of the total African American population of the state lives in Utah County. Cache County (Utah State University) and Tooele County (Dugway) have significant shares of the state’s Black population. The rapid growth of the African American population in Utah over the last decade may have resulted from the regional economic boom of the 1990s. Some have suggested that there has been an improved climate for people of color in general which may, in turn, be related the growth of the LDS church globally and the associated increasing racial diversity of its membership.

### C. Whites

The Mormon pioneer migration to Utah was among the most well-organized voluntary international migrations of the 19th century. The territorial population as recorded by the censuses increased from 11,380 in 1850 to 86,273 in 1870, an astounding number of people to accommodate in the harsh desert climate and undeveloped land. (Table

**Table 5: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties  
African American Population by County**

Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	AloneCombined	
																2000	2000*
STATE	50	59	118	232	588	672	1,144	1,446	1,108	1,235	2,729	4,148	6,617	9,691	11,576	17,657	24,382
BEAVER	-	-	-	22	15	2	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	16	23
BOX ELDER	-	-	19	8	8	10	7	31	1	1	23	22	15	40	19	71	119
CACHE	-	-	5	9	11	9	7	13	1	4	1	15	65	264	217	348	559
CARBON	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	196	39	37	90	75	42	79	62	56	97
DAGGETT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	11
DAVIS	-	10	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	19	198	310	1,723	2,423	2,355	2,615	3,463
DUCHESNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	4	2	-	-	10	21	45
EMERY	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	64	33	4	1	-	9	-	4	20	31
GARFIELD	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	8	9
GRAND	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	3	24	3	-	3	3	8	7	21	32
IRON	1	-	-	14	-	-	2	1	-	1	3	2	2	-	43	119	184
JUAB	-	-	4	2	1	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	12	17
KANE	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	5	2	6
MILLARD	-	-	1	1	-	9	22	13	8	8	7	2	1	3	2	13	23
MORGAN	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	1	1	-	7	3	13
PIUTE	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	2
RICH	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
SALT LAKE	15	45	51	133	240	336	827	810	740	781	1,208	1,704	2,473	4,121	5,663	9,495	12,890
SAN JUAN	-	-	-	-	2	1	17	-	-	-	3	19	16	8	11	18	37
SANPETE	-	-	-	2	5	12	18	1	-	-	3	1	5	36	11	71	94
SEVIER	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	6	51	65
SUMMIT	-	-	4	7	4	9	1	4	12	3	5	5	3	-	18	72	127
TOOELE	-	-	-	5	58	5	7	1	3	-	42	217	125	248	228	521	672
UINTAH	-	-	-	1	127	214	3	4	4	-	7	1	2	-	9	29	45
UTAH	34	4	6	6	9	7	2	17	9	17	23	23	47	109	374	1,096	1,863
WASATCH	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	33	47
WASHINGTON	-	-	4	1	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	66	186	375
WAYNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	4	7
WEBER	-	-	21	17	87	51	204	270	233	351	1,106	1,738	2,073	2,350	2,446	2,748	3,525

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

**Table 6: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties**  
**White Population by County**

Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	Alone 2000	Combined 2000*
STATE	11,330	40,125	86,044	142,423	205,899	272,465	366,583	441,901	495,955	542,920	676,909	873,828	1,031,926	1,383,997	1,615,845	1,992,975	2,034,448
BEAVER		785	2,005	3,828	3,321	3,573	4,642	5,075	5,041	5,014	4,850	4,308	3,754	4,314	4,647	5,599	5,687
BOX ELDER		1,608	4,429	6,357	7,314	9,785	13,588	18,312	17,131	18,522	18,981	24,057	27,069	30,797	34,733	39,699	40,305
CACHE		2,601	8,219	12,544	15,495	18,127	22,998	26,879	27,369	29,766	33,458	35,636	41,668	55,634	66,551	84,286	85,355
CARBON					-	4,873	8,418	14,760	16,871	18,199	24,647	20,926	15,449	21,165	19,060	18,601	19,068
DAGGETT					-	-	-	400	411	557	364	1,161	647	767	674	871	881
DAVIS	1,134	2,886	4,454	5,272	6,748	7,983	10,075	11,293	13,515	15,325	30,065	63,766	96,057	138,555	178,391	220,486	224,642
DUCHESNE					-	-	-	9,019	8,028	8,774	7,908	6,845	6,938	12,236	11,807	12,956	13,285
EMERY				555	4,996	4,586	6,706	7,300	6,922	7,068	6,286	5,499	5,105	11,189	10,127	10,386	10,512
GARFIELD					2,451	3,384	3,660	4,763	4,641	5,249	4,150	3,555	3,132	3,592	3,890	4,496	4,562
GRAND					495	1,030	1,593	1,800	1,672	2,067	1,898	6,327	6,639	7,918	6,341	7,861	7,960
IRON	359	1,010	2,262	3,944	2,675	3,521	3,902	5,740	7,089	8,249	9,545	10,627	11,950	16,685	19,922	31,416	31,916
JUAB		672	2,028	3,468	5,575	10,048	10,589	9,733	8,308	7,245	5,919	4,566	4,522	5,508	5,680	7,955	8,020
KANE			1,505	3,079	1,587	1,745	1,619	2,054	2,231	2,561	2,287	2,644	2,396	3,970	5,032	5,804	5,882
MILLARD		715	2,665	3,721	4,032	5,587	6,018	9,514	9,796	9,554	9,331	7,787	6,908	8,633	10,798	11,653	11,781
MORGAN			1,970	1,766	1,780	2,028	2,381	2,500	2,502	2,610	2,517	2,831	3,976	4,882	5,462	6,994	7,069
PIUTE			80	1,529	2,802	1,904	1,727	2,733	1,925	2,177	1,890	1,422	1,146	1,310	1,267	1,372	1,384
RICH			1,953	1,262	1,523	1,944	1,882	1,888	1,865	2,028	1,673	1,685	1,610	2,077	1,704	1,925	1,933
SALT LAKE	6,142	11,200	18,277	31,694	57,945	77,096	129,470	157,258	190,075	209,813	271,024	377,687	449,781	584,099	675,141	775,666	795,559
SAN JUAN				204	310	551	964	2,447	2,059	2,837	3,505	6,347	4,826	6,375	5,501	5,876	6,064
SANPETE	365	3,806	6,771	11,484	13,089	16,286	16,670	17,489	15,944	16,010	13,845	11,022	10,883	14,159	15,539	21,040	21,345
SEVIER			19	4,455	6,196	8,447	9,770	11,280	11,183	12,110	12,007	10,475	9,990	14,533	14,982	18,014	18,181
SUMMIT		198	2,467	4,845	7,598	9,312	8,159	7,836	9,399	8,678	6,734	5,655	5,864	10,020	15,304	27,299	27,623
TOOELE	152	1,000	2,177	4,330	3,591	7,228	7,787	7,789	9,133	9,057	14,396	17,184	20,929	23,914	24,347	36,330	37,264
UINTAH				780	2,625	4,926	6,014	7,333	8,194	8,863	9,214	10,390	11,309	18,352	19,537	22,130	22,469
UTAH	1,992	8,243	12,185	17,942	23,732	32,444	37,918	40,724	48,807	57,321	81,597	106,448	136,266	211,754	253,596	340,388	346,553
WASATCH			1,244	2,918	3,591	4,578	8,778	4,586	5,614	5,747	5,574	5,303	5,847	8,444	9,937	14,549	14,749
WASHINGTON		691	3,052	4,155	3,903	4,492	5,026	6,693	7,338	9,183	9,760	10,139	13,470	25,709	47,202	84,543	85,882
WAYNE					-	1,900	1,745	2,095	2,061	2,394	2,203	1,727	1,480	1,884	2,123	2,441	2,458
WEBER	1,186	3,674	7,833	12,291	22,525	25,087	34,484	42,608	50,831	55,942	81,281	107,809	122,315	135,522	146,550	172,339	176,059
OTHER		1,036	449														

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

6) The great majority of these persons were White and Mormon. Over a third of the 1870 Utah population was born outside the country. By the turn of the century, immigrants and their children were two-thirds of the Utah population. Many were from the British Isles and Scandinavia.<sup>35</sup>

The efficiency and success of the colonizing effort was primarily attributable to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, which had been organized by Brigham Young to expedite migration of Latter-day Saints to the intermountain west.<sup>36</sup> From 1852 to 1887 the fund assisted 26,000 (36 percent) of the 73,000 Latter-day Saints migrating to the U.S. from Europe.<sup>37</sup> The California gold rush also provided much needed resources to the newly established communities and the continuing migration. Population was initially concentrated in what is now Salt Lake County. Later the Utah, Davis, and Weber county areas were major settlements. Colonizing parties were sent throughout the region, including communities in what are now the states of Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, and Wyoming.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in

1868 facilitated the migration of many non-Mormons and more diverse cultures. By 1910, Utah, Nevada, and Wyoming had the nation's largest concentration of Greeks relative to the population size of the region. Serbians, Albanians, and Lebanese also migrated to Utah and were employed particularly in the mining and railroad industries. Mexican migration to Utah was significant beginning in 1910. Even with the substantial immigration from southern and eastern Europe, immigrants from northern and western Europe were the majority, and many of these came via Canada. In more recent years the fall of the Communist system has initiated a migration of eastern Europeans to Utah. These have included Russians, Polish, Bosnians and Croatians. All of these populations were classified along with the original Mormon pioneers of northern and western European nativity as "White" in the census counts. A great cultural, ethnic, and national diversity has been hidden within this category.<sup>38</sup>

**Table 7: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties**  
**Chinese Population by Count**

Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	Alone	Combined
STATE			445	501	806	572	371	342	342	228	335	629	1,281	2,913	5,322	8,045		10,742
BEAVER			-	28	4		2	-	-			8	13	27	10	11		17
BOX ELDER			403	159	147		2	-	7			-	2	-	15	28		35
CACHE			-	-	2		1	-	-			31	165	167	518	545		628
CARBON			-	-	-		3	16	1			20	3	-	19	17		20
DAGGETT			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-		1
DAVIS			-	-	-		-	-	-			2	24	160	240	491		736
DUCHESNE			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	1	-	-	9		15
EMERY			-	-	66		-	-	-			1	-	16	1	1		4
GARFIELD			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	-	-	-	1		1
GRAND			-	-	44		-	3	1			2	3	17	5	4		5
IRON			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	6	9	25	34		47
JUAB			-	-	6		6	5	1			-	-	-	2	-		-
KANE			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	-	-	1	3		5
MILLARD			-	1	-		-	-	-			-	-	83	-	-		2
MORGAN			-	17	-		-	-	-			-	-	-	-	1		7
PIUTE			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	-	-	-	1		2
RICH			-	-	2		1	-	-			-	-	-	-	-		-
SALT LAKE			-	131	269		222	201	194			380	700	1,711	3,365	5,121		6,531
SAN JUAN			-	-	-		-	-	-			5	6	4	1	1		4
SANPETE			-	-	-		-	-	-			1	5	1	5	16		35
SEVIER			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	3	-	1	5		10
SUMMIT			39	67	131		21	11	34			-	-	-	14	52		66
TOOELE			-	10	8		10	5	12			17	19	39	21	55		97
UINTAH			-	-	7		4	2	2			-	6	6	15	13		16
UTAH			-	-	12		6	3	7			83	210	492	819	1,223		1,815
WASATCH			-	2	-		-	1	-			-	-	-	-	6		10
WASHINGTON			-	53	2		-	-	-			-	1	16	19	64		133
WAYNE			-	-	-		-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-		-
WEBER			3	33	106		93	95	83			79	114	165	226	343		500

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination. Chinese includes Taiwanese.

### D. Chinese

The Chinese began to arrive in Utah as workers on the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad that was built from Sacramento, California to Promontory Point, Utah in the late 1860s. The work of these 12,000 Chinese was legendary as they built the railroad through the rugged mountain ranges. Box Elder County, in which the railroad town Corinne was located, was home to 403 Chinese in the 1870 Census. (Table 7) As Ogden developed into a railroad center in the 1880s, a Chinatown was home to 106 of the 806 Chinese counted in Utah in the 1890 census.

Since 1900 the largest Chinese community has been in Salt Lake County. Originally the Salt Lake population of 269 Chinese was concentrated in Plum Alley in Salt Lake in 1890. Salt Lake County has been home to 60 percent or more of the state's Chinese population since 1910. Early on, mining and railroad activity provided the basis for Chinese employment in Park City, Carbon County, and Ogden.

The state's Chinese population declined during the Great Depression and did not increase substantially until after World War II and the passage of several important immigration laws that allowed more free entry of Chinese to the United States. More recently, persons of Chinese origin were among the Vietnamese refugees after 1975.

Students from the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan have come to Utah in increasing numbers and some of these eventually became citizens. The number of persons in Utah indicating Chinese or Taiwanese only on the census of 2000 was 8,045 while the number indicating Chinese or Taiwanese alone or in combination was 10,742. This is a dramatic increase from 1960 (629 Chinese persons) and 1970 (1,281 Chinese persons). Of the 10,742 indicating some Chinese heritage in the most recent census, 61 percent were in Salt Lake County, 17 percent in Utah County, 7 percent in Davis County, 6 percent in Cache, and 5 percent in Weber County.<sup>39</sup>

### E. Japanese

Persons of Japanese descent were present in Utah in small numbers early in the 20th century, mostly associated with railroads (Box Elder and Weber counties), coal mines (Carbon and Emery counties), agriculture (Cache, Weber, Davis, and Salt Lake counties), and in variety of commercial and other occupations of the growing urban area (Salt Lake County). (Table 8) The Japanese population of Utah increased to 3,269 in the 1930 but declined to 2,210 in 1940 with the Great Depression. The largest migrations of Japanese to Utah were forced migrations in the decade of

Table 8: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties  
Japanese Population by County

Year	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	Alone	Combined
STATE	4	417	2,110	2,936	3,269	2,210	4,452	4,371	4,713	5,508	6,500	6,186	9,991
BEAVER	-	-	36	51	23	-	-	5	5	-	3	4	10
BOX ELDER	-	-	147	288	304	-	-	387	338	333	246	170	250
CACHE	-	-	55	90	52	-	-	27	72	192	198	198	292
CARBON	-	-	197	516	384	-	-	88	60	49	54	37	53
DAGGETT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	1	1	6
DAVIS	-	-	116	157	472	-	-	433	563	715	828	819	1,384
DUCHESNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	16	5	3	6
EMERY	-	-	43	47	32	-	-	1	-	18	3	2	10
GARFIELD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	8	16
GRAND	-	-	1	2	18	-	-	2	5	-	4	4	6
IRON	-	-	3	-	42	-	-	-	4	36	11	117	147
JUAB	-	-	31	4	26	-	-	1	1	-	2	12	14
KANE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	5
MILLARD	-	-	21	66	54	-	-	-	6	2	5	1	9
MORGAN	-	-	86	40	16	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	16
PIUTE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
RICH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	6	2	4
SALT LAKE	-	-	871	980	1,118	-	-	2,399	2,534	2,995	3,220	3,065	4,773
SAN JUAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	8	1	5	7
SANPETE	-	-	2	7	55	-	-	12	26	16	176	51	82
SEVIER	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	9	1	-	11	12	23
SUMMIT	-	-	17	11	17	-	-	4	6	5	24	57	94
TOOELE	-	-	73	118	80	-	-	60	49	43	42	37	84
UINTAH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	17	14	9	15
UTAH	-	-	15	36	35	-	-	147	187	360	751	765	1,436
WASATCH	-	-	-	33	8	-	-	-	-	-	8	10	38
WASHINGTON - WAYNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	35	62	86	169
WEBER	4	-	391	490	533	-	-	795	840	660	817	703	1,041

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

the 1940s, especially from California, because of national security concerns. During the Second World War, at least 8,000 Japanese were incarcerated in camps at Topaz in Millard County. Many of these detainees, who had lost all of the property, remained in Utah after the war. In 1950 there were 4,452 Japanese in Utah, the majority of whom resided in Salt Lake County. In the 2000 census, 6,186 persons self-identified as Japanese, while 9,991 indicated that they were either Japanese alone or in combination with other races. This population is highly concentrated in the Wasatch Front urban counties.<sup>40</sup>

## F. Others

The expansion of the number of race categories in the federal data collection system over the past four decennial censuses corresponds to a major wave of immigration to the U.S. Although present in Utah prior to 1970, many groups were simply not separately counted by census takers. Even as the Bureau of the Census collected data on some of the other race groups (such as the Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Koreans beginning in 1920), they did not necessarily tabulate and publish these results. Electronic

dissemination of decennial census data was only partially implemented by the 1980 census. In previous years, printed reports with tabular data were the norm. In these earlier printed census reports, many numerically smaller race groups were conflated into the "All Other" category. As a consequence, we have only limited data for most smaller groups prior to 1980. For example, although data were collected for Filipinos from 1920 to present, relying on Census Bureau publications, we have only state totals from 1930 to present, and the 1950 data was not published at all.

In the 1920s and 1930s, some Filipino migrant laborers came to Utah. (Table 9) But it was not until the post-Korean war era that Filipinos and also Koreans arrived in Utah in larger numbers. There were 158 Filipinos counted in the 1930 Census. Beginning in the 1960s, college and university students have come to Utah from the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea, Iran, and India, among others. From 1900 to 1920, Asian Indian immigrants farmed sugar beets in Box Elder County.<sup>41</sup> Changes in the immigration laws in 1965 abolished the quota system and opened the country to immigration based on family

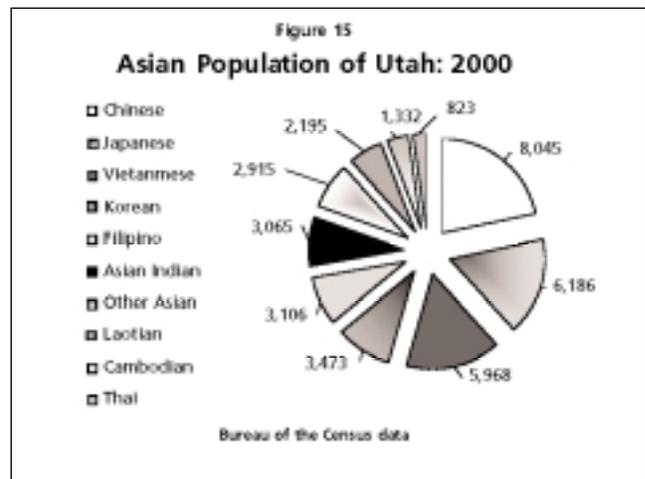
**Table 9: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties**

Korean					Asian Indian					Vietnamese				
Year	1980	1990	2000	2000*	Year	1980	1990	2000	2000*	Year	1980	1990	2000	2000*
STATE	1,397	2,629	3,473	4,609	STATE	932	1,557	3,065	3,800	STATE	1,991	2,797	5,968	6,742
BEAVER		0	1	2	BEAVER	2	0	1	1	BEAVER		0	1	1
BOX ELDER		20	25	37	BOX ELDER	20	10	6	22	BOX ELDER	26	20	24	35
CACHE	29	227	210	235	CACHE	75	195	223	242	CACHE	206	179	183	222
CARBON	15	1	6	8	CARBON	12	1	5	9	CARBON	6	1	0	3
DAGGETT		0	0	0	DAGGETT			0	0	DAGGETT		2	0	0
DAVIS	193	435	443	644	DAVIS	43	80	156	251	DAVIS	182	135	225	271
DUCHESNE	3	3	1	1	DUCHESNE		1	2	2	DUCHESNE	5	0	1	1
EMERY		9	8	10	EMERY	7	0	8	9	EMERY	6	6	2	3
GARFIELD	3	4	1	1	GARFIELD		1	7	9	GARFIELD		0	0	0
GRAND		3	3	5	GRAND		0	2	3	GRAND		1	1	1
IRON	14	6	45	54	IRON	28	8	19	21	IRON		1	1	6
JUAB		4	7	8	JUAB		1	0	0	JUAB		0	5	5
KANE		0	0	2	KANE		4	2	5	KANE		0	1	1
MILLARD	11	8	7	12	MILLARD	2	10	2	4	MILLARD	23	9	3	3
MORGAN		11	4	4	MORGAN		1	0	1	MORGAN		0	0	0
PIUTE		0	2	2	PIUTE		0	2	2	PIUTE		0	0	0
RICH		0	0	0	RICH		2	0	0	RICH		0	0	0
SALT LAKE	786	1,253	1,724	2,169	SALT LAKE	604	978	2,091	2,483	SALT LAKE	1,358	2,133	4,993	5,532
SAN JUAN	11	3	2	3	SAN JUAN	1	1	8	15	SAN JUAN		3	1	2
SANPETE	11	14	13	19	SANPETE		5	4	7	SANPETE		4	4	5
SEVIER	6	6	12	12	SEVIER	2	1	1	1	SEVIER		0	2	2
SUMMIT		10	34	58	SUMMIT		2	15	16	SUMMIT		1	3	3
TOOELE	28	33	43	84	TOOELE	15	8	12	25	TOOELE	4	2	5	7
UINTAH	6	12	8	19	UINTAH		3	6	7	UINTAH		3	5	6
UTAH	158	396	607	805	UTAH	74	120	321	423	UTAH	99	156	164	239
WASATCH	5	3	9	11	WASATCH		3	4	7	WASATCH		0	4	5
WASHINGTON	2	15	51	87	WASHINGTON	15	9	55	69	WASHINGTON	14	9	27	37
WAYNE	3	0	0	0	WAYNE	2	1	1	1	WAYNE		0	0	0
WEBER	113	153	207	317	WEBER	28	114	114	167	WEBER	62	132	313	352

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

reunification, skills, and refugee status. After the Vietnam War, many refugees came from southeast Asia, particularly Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian; this migration peaked in 1980s.

The Asian population in Utah numbered 37,108 in the 2000 Census among those persons who indicated just one race. (Figure 15) Among these, Chinese (8,045), Japanese (6,186), Vietnamese (5,968), and Korean (3,473) are nearly two-thirds (64 percent) of the total. The Vietnamese and Asian Indian populations have grown most rapidly since 1990.<sup>42</sup> Including persons who identified themselves as Asian alone and Asian in combination with one or more other races, the population is 48,692. The population is concentrated in the urban counties and also university communities.



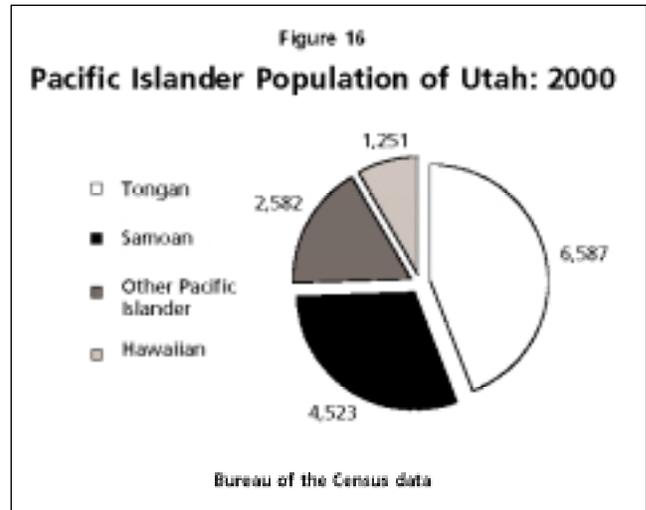
The Pacific Islander population began arriving in small numbers in Utah around 1875, the result of Mormon missionary efforts. (Table 10 and Figure 16) With the help of the LDS church, the community of Iosepa was established in Skull Valley in 1889 and was home to somewhere between 50 and 75 Polynesians (predominately Hawaiian). Although the LDS church eventually built a temple in Hawaii and suggested that they return home, a Pacific Islander community had been established in Utah and continued to grow. The largest migration of Pacific

**Table 10: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Counties Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander Population by County**

Year	1990	Alone 2000	Combined 2000*
STATE	7,675	15,145	21,367
BEAVER	5	5	19
BOX ELDER	23	34	66
CACHE	122	181	280
CARBON	24	9	20
DAGGETT	-	-	1
DAVIS	365	639	1,185
DUCHESNE	8	8	17
EMERY	6	11	21
GARFIELD	-	2	3
GRAND	5	4	7
IRON	40	92	139
JUAB	-	4	17
KANE	10	3	11
MILLARD	5	25	31
MORGAN	1	-	1
PIUTE	1	1	2
RICH	-	-	-
SALT LAKE	5,398	11,075	14,245
SAN JUAN	26	5	29
SANPETE	37	81	118
SEVIER	8	17	30
SUMMIT	12	13	41
TOOELE	34	72	140
UINTAH	21	20	33
UTAH	1,154	2,122	3,593
WASATCH	2	15	47
WASHINGTON	121	384	663
WAYNE	-	4	7
WEBER	247	319	601

Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

Islanders has occurred since 1970. Tongans, Samoans, Hawaiians, Maoris, and Tahitians all established growing communities in Utah, as a result of continued LDS missionary efforts, family relations, and economic opportunity.<sup>43</sup> The 2000 census enumerated 15,145 persons who identified themselves as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, and 21,367 who identified themselves of mixed race with Pacific Islander among these. This compares to 7,675 persons who were counted in the 1990 census in Utah. Nearly half (45 percent) of this single race population is Tongan and nearly one-third (30 percent) is Samoan.



As was previously explained, the “Some Other Race” category is Utah’s largest racial minority group, constituting 40 percent of the non-White population in the 2000 census count. This group is almost entirely (98 percent) composed of persons who identified themselves as Hispanic in the ethnic origin question. The second-largest racial minority group, one in five non-White persons, is composed of persons who identified themselves as being two or more races. While this is numerically a small portion of the state’s population (2.1 percent), it is a significant portion of the non-White population.

### G. Hispanic

The Bureau of the Census has included Hispanic / non-Hispanic ethnicity dichotomy as a category separate from race since the 1970 census.<sup>44</sup> (Tables 11 through 14 and Figure 17) Hispanics are a diverse group generally defined as persons originating from a Spanish culture region. According to the Bureau of the Census:

**Hispanics or Latinos** are those people who classified themselves in one of the specific Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino categories listed on the Census 2000 questionnaire - “Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano,” “Puerto Rican”, or “Cuban” -as well as those who indicate that they are “other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino.” Persons who indicated that they are “other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino” include those whose origins are from Spain, the Spanish-speaking countries of Central or South America, the Dominican Republic or people identifying themselves generally as Spanish, Spanish-American, Hispanic, Hispano, Latino, and so on.<sup>45</sup>

**Table 11: Decennial Census Ethnicity Data for Utah Counties Hispanic Population by County**

Year	1970	1980	1990	2000
STATE	33,911	60,302	84,597	201,559
BEAVER		85	120	333
BOX ELDER	632	1,299	1,610	2,791
CACHE	213	708	1,780	5,786
CARBON	1,491	2,423	2,247	2,097
DAGGETT		13	15	47
DAVIS	3,123	5,436	7,275	12,955
DUCHESNE		177	350	508
EMERY	64	233	219	568
GARFIELD		36	35	136
GRAND	158	353	291	471
IRON	40	239	382	1,383
JUAB		55	73	217
KANE		46	101	140
MILLARD	75	157	402	891
MORGAN		49	78	103
PIUTE	16	17	15	64
RICH		16	21	36
SALT LAKE	17,078	30,867	43,647	106,787
SAN JUAN	297	433	440	540
SANPETE	25	268	560	1,510
SEVIER	179	175	289	481
SUMMIT	18	204	326	2,406
TOOELE	1,774	2,395	2,960	4,214
UINTAH	383	565	691	894
UTAH	2,394	5,040	8,488	25,791
WASATCH		121	253	775
WASHINGTON	87	298	862	4,72
WAYNE		24	25	50
WEBER	5,864	8,570	11,042	24,858

**Table 12: Decennial Census Ethnicity Data for Utah Counties Mexican Population by County**

Year	1930	1970	1980	1990	2000
STATE	4,012	7,710	36,751	56,842	136,416
BEAVER		52	6	37	94
BOX ELDER	226	190	1,042	1,271	2,131
CACHE		1	151	217	1,225
CARBON	472	320	1,720	1,575	1,348
DAGGETT			17	12	36
DAVIS	27	869	3,463	4,916	7,586
DUCHESNE	32	44	107	244	342
EMERY	51	32	133	168	472
GARFIELD		1	24	19	96
GRAND	98	45	210	194	323
IRON	55	118	219	276	1,005
JUAB	87	50	16	40	123
KANE		1	8	20	62
MILLARD	49	95	114	339	755
MORGAN	17	6	24	50	56
PIUTE			2	7	47
RICH		8	3	15	23
SALT LAKE	1,834	3,025	18,594	29,159	72,395
SAN JUAN	117	240	238	223	326
SANPETE	3	32	186	484	1,337
SEVIER	14	26	71	200	312
SUMMIT	64	8	55	206	2,026
TOOELE	183	115	1,298	2,085	2,493
UINTAH	52	27	347	458	626
UTAH	160	885	2,670	4,785	16,613
WASATCH	14	5	47	161	620
WASHINGTON		89	210	556	3,299
WAYNE	6	34	2	16	28
WEBER	388	1,290	5,665	8,002	17,588

**Table 13: Decennial Census Race Data for Utah Detailed Asian Population**

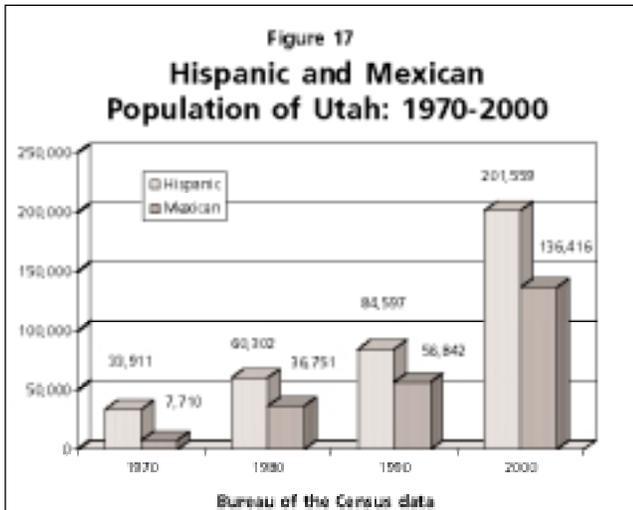
	1980	1990	2000	2000*
<b>Total Asian</b>	15,874	25,696	37,108	48,692
Chinese	2,913	5,322	8,045	10,691
Filipino	1,138	1,905	3,106	5,396
Japanese	5,508	6,500	6,186	9,991
Asian Indian	932	1,557	3,065	3,800
Korean	1,397	2,629	3,473	4,609
Vietnamese	1,991	2,797	5,968	6,742
Other Asian	1,995	4,986	7,265	7,463
<b>Other Asian</b>	1980	1990	2000	2000*
	1,995	4,986	7,265	7,463
Cambodian		997	1,332	1,663
Hmong		105	157	190
Laotian		1,774	2,195	2,715
Thai		617	823	1,210
Indonesian			122	275
Pakistani alone			379	546
All Others		1,493	2,257	864

<b>Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander</b>				
	1980	1990	2000	2000*
<b>Total</b>	4,350	7,675	15,145	21,367
Hawaiian	913	1,396	1,251	3,642
Samoan	1,171	1,570	4,523	6,470
Guamanian	64	148	202	348
Tongan		3,904	6,587	8,655
Other Pacific Islander	2,202	657	2,582	2,252

Source: For the 1980 data: PC80-S1-12, Asian and Pacific Islander Population by State: 1980. These are SAMPLE data.  
 Note: The first 2000 is for race alone and the second is for race alone and in combination.

**Table 14 Utah Hispanic Population: 2000**

	Number	Share
<b>Mexican</b>	136,416	67.7%
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	3,977	2.0%
<b>Cuban</b>	940	0.5%
<b>Dominican (Dominican Republic)</b>	352	0.2%
<b>Central American</b>	6,645	3.3%
Costa Rican	406	
Guatemalan	2,137	
Honduran	613	
Nicaraguan	330	
Panamanian	232	
Salvadoran	2,670	
<b>South American</b>	9,620	4.8%
Argentinian	1,626	
Bolivian	385	
Chilean	1,504	
Colombian	1,304	
Ecuadorian	637	
Peruvian	2,276	
Uruguayan	261	
Venezuelan	1,224	
Other South American	403	
<b>Spaniard</b>	859	0.4%
<b>All other Hispanic or Latino</b>	42,750	21.2%
<b>Total</b>	201,559	100.0%



Hispanic influence began in the Americas with the arrival of the Spanish in 1492. Spanish / Mexican explorers and traders came to Utah in increasing numbers beginning in the mid-16th century. The Spanish Trail, a major trade route connecting Santa Fe and Los Angeles, crossed through central and southern Utah. Although no permanent settlement was established, trade with indigenous people was.<sup>46</sup> Soon after, they colonized present-day New Mexico. By 1821 Mexico became independent of Spain and its territory reached north into present-day southwest U.S., including California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, much of western Colorado, New Mexico, southwestern Kansas, and Texas. Most of this territory became part of the U.S. with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Importantly, the treaty provided for free movement across the border.

Hispanics populated the southwest region of the present day U.S., including Utah, from at least the early 1800s. By 1900, Hispanics made significant contributions to the sheep, cattle, mining, and railroad industries of Utah, and were geographically concentrated in San Juan County. Mexicans also relocated from Colorado and New Mexico to northern Utah for mining, railroad, and agricultural employment and in the central Utah coal mining communities. During the Great Depression, many Utah Hispanics returned to New Mexico or were deported to Mexico. With the establishment of the defense sector in northern Utah during World War II, the demand for labor again brought Hispanics from New Mexico and Colorado. Many Hispanics served with distinction in the armed forces in the war. Although there are LDS Hispanics, the majority of Hispanics in Utah are associated with the Catholic Church, which continues to be a central institution in their community. In 1958 the

Spanish-Speaking Organization for Community Integrity and Opportunity (SOCIO), an important civil rights organization, was formed in Utah. Today there are many other civic organizations that represent a spectrum of interests and serve the Hispanic community in Utah.<sup>47</sup>

Mexican immigrants came to the U.S. in large numbers beginning in 1942 with the establishment of the Bracero Program. This program facilitated the employment of temporary guest workers in the war effort. After the war, the program was extended to provide labor primarily to the agricultural sector especially in the southwestern U.S. and in Arkansas. When the program was terminated in 1964, the era of illegal immigration to the U.S. began. Because migration networks were well established, undocumented migrants continued to enter the U.S. from Mexico. The volume of this migration has been affected by relative labor market conditions, the cost of migration, and policy changes. The most significant of recent policies was the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, which increased border enforcement, increased penalties to employers of the undocumented, established an agricultural guest worker program (H-2A), and offered amnesty to long-time undocumented residents. The latter resulted in about three million persons acquiring amnesty, two-thirds of whom were from Mexico.<sup>48</sup>

Hispanics make important contributions to the construction, service, and agricultural sectors, and the increased demand for labor in these sectors in the 1990s brought many Hispanics to the state. About two-thirds of Hispanics in Utah identify themselves as Mexican in the 2000 census count. There are smaller communities of Central and South Americans, Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics in the state. Hispanics are Utah's largest minority population with over one half (106,787) of this population residing in Salt Lake County. Utah County has the second largest Hispanic population among counties (25,791), while Weber County is third (24,858). Many Hispanics have found employment in the service sectors, especially hospitality, and construction sectors in these urban areas. There is also a growing Hispanic middle and professional class in these same areas. Growth in the hospitality sector in the Park City area has provided employment to Hispanics, as the Summit County Hispanic population increased from 326 in 1990 to 2,080 in 2000. Hispanics have historically worked in the livestock, crop production, food processing, and meat packing industries of Utah. Large numbers work in the meat packing industries of Cache and Sanpete counties and in the Nevada state border towns (Wendover) providing labor to casinos. There is a significant concentration of Hispanics in Davis

County (12,955), Washington County (4,727), Box Elder County (2,791), and in Carbon County, where they are 10.3 percent of the population. The Hispanic population has increased in every county from 1990 to 2000.<sup>49</sup>

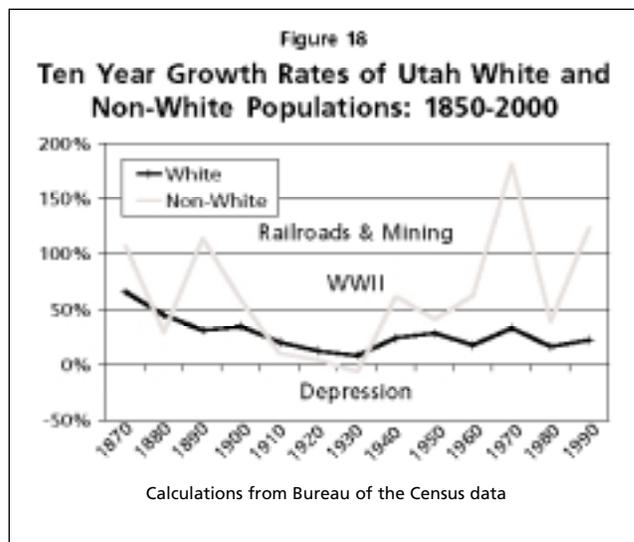
#### IV. Conclusions

What do 150 years of Decennial Census data for Utah's counties reveal?

1. **Census data tell only part of the story.** The picture painted by the Census numbers alone is partial and limited. Certainly the "White non-Hispanic" population has been and continues to be the dominant majority. Exactly what "White" means to the general public is unclear and changes over time. The Census category of "White" hides within it great diversity – Middle Easterners are one obvious group of persons made invisible by the category. The use of multiracial categories further complicates the picture. Beyond the Census categories, Utah is less homogeneous than the official measurements indicate. Further, the Census has never counted all persons. American Indians were systematically excluded for over a century and the undocumented, homeless, and those in poverty are under-counted in more recent times.

2. **Diversity in Utah has increased substantially in the 1990s.** Utah has become much more diverse in the 1990s. Numerically, the greatest contribution to this has been the international immigration of Hispanics to Utah, especially from Mexico. This migration is national in scope and also has brought more Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Eastern Europeans. This represents a major shift in the composition of migrant origins as compared to the past. The growth of the minority population has been significantly more rapid than that of the White non-Hispanic majority. The growth of the minority population contributed over one-third of the growth of Utah's population in the 1990s.

3. **Economic cycles greatly affect migration flows.** Economic growth has been associated with increases in Utah's diversity and, conversely, economic slowdowns have been associated with declines in diversity. This has been most evident with the introduction and expansion of the railroads and mining, federal defense installations, and the pre-Olympic construction boom. During the Great Depression, there was an out-migration of people of color as the industries employing them contracted. (Figure 18)



4. **Political forces affect migration patterns.** International political issues have affected migrations of diverse populations to Utah. The incarceration of Japanese during WWII brought Japanese to Millard County. Post-Vietnam War Southeast Asian refugees settled in Utah in the 1980s. More recently the collapse of East Block countries brought Serbians and others. Changes in national immigration policy have affected the migration of people to Utah. During the "Ellis Island" era Greeks, Italians, and others came to Utah while later the imposition of country quotas limited the number of non-northern European immigrants. Family reunification, employment, and political refugee status became the most recent principles governing immigration to the U.S.; this has facilitated the most recent major immigration wave.

5. **Established networks create long-term migration flows.** When new migrant communities have become established in Utah, these provide the foundation for additional migrations far into the future. As people maintain their connections to families and associates in their original hometowns, they provide a receiving community and ties to economic opportunity for new arrivals. The flows of people and resources (including financial remittances) become better established with the passage of time.

6. **The LDS Church has greatly affected migration to Utah.** The rapid initial population growth of non-native people to Utah was a well-organized migration by the Mormon Church. The proselytizing efforts of the church brought diverse populations to the state. The extensive building of temples across the globe has expanded the membership overseas, greatly increasing the demographic diversity of the global LDS population. Because Salt Lake

City is headquarters of this international church, it continues to attract diverse populations to Utah.

7. **Utah will become more diverse over time.** Certainly Utah will continue to be less diverse than the nation in the foreseeable future. However, the forces encouraging immigration to the country will continue to attract diverse populations, particularly Hispanics. In consequence, Utah and the nation will continue to become more diverse. In the end, the relative strength of the economy in combination with the growth of the labor force will create a “push” or “pull” for migration in Utah and the U.S. As more family and community networks are built, these bridges will facilitate additional migration. Further, the retirement of the Baby Boom will create a labor shortage and this will increase pressure for more international immigration, therefore increasing diversity. The speed of this process will also depend upon the political climate of the country and immigration policies and enforcement practices.

#### IV. ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Census 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Given the choices of White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, or Some Other Race, about half of all Hispanics chose the “Some Other Race” in the 1990 and 2000 Censuses. Nationally, 97 percent of all persons in this catch-all category designated themselves as Hispanic.

<sup>3</sup>As is explained in a subsequent section, Native Americans were not fully counted until well into the 20th century. Clearly they out numbered whites in 1850, but were not enumerated in the 1850 census.

<sup>4</sup>As is explained later, race and ethnicity are distinct categories for the Bureau of the Census. Hispanics may be of any race. Therefore, white non-Hispanic is a subset of non-Hispanic.

<sup>5</sup>The sources for this database include electronic files from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research as well as electronic and paper references from the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These are listed in the references.

<sup>6</sup>For example, in the 2000 census there were 17,657 people who reported African American alone while 24,382 persons indicated African American in combination with one or more other races. This compares to 11,576 persons who reported African American in 1990. Compared the African American alone category, the growth rate would be 53 percent while using the combined category results in a growth rate of 111 percent.

<sup>7</sup>This is Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution quoted in Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1989, page 1.

<sup>8</sup>States used somewhat different schedules until 1830 when a uniform national schedule was implemented. See Rodriguez, Clara E. 2000. *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: New York University Press. page 69.

<sup>9</sup>Nobles, Melissa. 2000. *Shades of Citizenship*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, page 36.

<sup>10</sup>Nobles, page 44.

<sup>11</sup>Rodriguez, pages 88-91.

<sup>12</sup>Peterson, William. 1997. *Ethnicity Counts*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, pages 101-112.

<sup>13</sup>Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989, various, Nobles pages 188-190.

<sup>14</sup>Peterson, 70.

<sup>15</sup>Peterson, 116-119.

<sup>16</sup>This was 98 percent in Utah.

<sup>17</sup>In the detailed data, there are 132 race groups, 78 American Indian and Alaska Native tribes, and 39 Hispanic and Latino Origin groups.

<sup>18</sup>The proposal did not succeed.

<sup>19</sup>Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989, page 36.

<sup>20</sup>Skerry, Peter. 2000. *Counting on the Census? Race, Group Identity, and the Evasion of Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings. pages 63-66.

<sup>21</sup>Skerry, page 61.

<sup>22</sup>Europe has previously been the major source of Utah’s foreign born population.

<sup>23</sup>Brewer, Cynthia A. and Suchan, Trudy A. 2001. *Mapping Census 2000: The Geography of U.S. Diversity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. pages 22 and 23.

<sup>24</sup>Historians have written extensively about Utah’s minority populations. One classic is Papanikolas, Helen Z., editor. 1976. *The Peoples of Utah*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup>Much of the data set used to construct this analysis is from the Interuniversity Consortium of Social and Political Research. The rest has been taken from electronic and published Bureau of the Census documents. These are listed in the reference section.

<sup>26</sup>Dean L. May, 1987. *Utah: A People’s History*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, page 13.

<sup>27</sup>Lewis, David Rich. 1994. “Native Americans in Utah,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, page 391.

<sup>28</sup>Cuch, Forrest S., editor. 2000. *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs / Utah State Division of History. "Introduction," pages xv-xvi.

<sup>29</sup>Among these 29,684 persons, 177 identified themselves as Alaska Natives.

<sup>30</sup>This is for race alone, not race in combination.

<sup>31</sup>Coleman, Ronald. 1980. "Trapper, Explorer, and the Pioneer Era: 1825-1869," Chapter 2 from *A History of Blacks in Utah: 1825-1910* and Appendix A pages 223-224.

<sup>32</sup>Coleman, 1980, page 78-79.

<sup>33</sup>Ulibarri, Richard O. "Utah's Ethnic Minorities: A Survey," pages 210-232. *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Volume 40, Number 3, Summer 1972.

<sup>34</sup>Ulibarri, page 210-215.

<sup>35</sup>Jensen, Richard K. 1994. "Immigration to Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, page 270.

<sup>36</sup>Arrington, Leonard J. 1958. "Organization for Growth and Development," pages 96-130 from *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints: 1830-1900*. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

<sup>37</sup>Jensen, Richard K. 1994. "Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company," pages 419-420, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

<sup>38</sup>Jensen, Richard K. 1994. "Immigration to Utah," pages 270-273, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

<sup>39</sup>Conley, Don C. 1994. "The Chinese in Utah," pages 85-86 *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

<sup>40</sup>Taniguchi, Nancy J. 1994. "Japanese Immigrants in Utah," pages 180-183, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. Also: Papanikolas, Helen Z. and Kasai, Alice, "Japanese Life in Utah," pages 333-362 from Papanikolas, Helen Z., editor. 1976. *The Peoples of Utah*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society.

<sup>41</sup>Papnikolas, Helen Zeese and Phil Notarianni. 1999 update "Peoples of Utah," Utah State Historical Society, downloaded from [www.utahhistorytogo.org](http://www.utahhistorytogo.org) on January, 2002.

<sup>42</sup>Recall that these growth rates are suspect because the 1990 Census required the identification of only one race group while the 2000 census allowed multiple identities. This growth rate compares the 1990 count with the number of persons identifying single race categories, thus defining the lower range of the actual growth rate.

<sup>43</sup>Edison, Carol. 1994. "South Sea Islanders in Utah," pages 516-518, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

<sup>44</sup>See Chapter 7 of Peterson; and Rodriguez.

<sup>45</sup>[http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long\\_68188.htm](http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long_68188.htm)

<sup>46</sup>Nichols, Jeffrey D. "The Spanish Trail Cut a Roundabout Path Through Utah," *History Blazer*, June 1995, online at [www.utah-historytogo.org/spanishtrail.html](http://www.utah-historytogo.org/spanishtrail.html)

<sup>47</sup>Gonzalez, William H. and Orlando Riverera, "Hispanics of Utah," pages 255-257, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell editor. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

<sup>48</sup>Orrenius, Pia M. "Illegal Immigration and Enforcement Along the U.S.-Mexico Border: An Overview," *Economic and Financial Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Pages 2-11, First Quarter, 2002.

<sup>49</sup>Iber, Jorge. 2000. *Hispanics in Mormon Zion: 1912-1999*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

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